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IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

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Senior Honors Thesis

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Defense: May 2, 1994

Marie C. Weil
"I Pledge"

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APPROVAL

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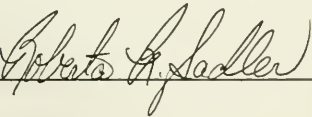
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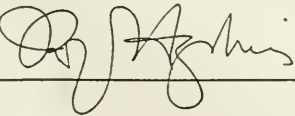
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This study was designed to examine relationships among parent-adolescent communication, family conflict, and identity status in three age groups of female adolescents. Ninety-seven high school and college subjects volunteered to complete three questionnaires that assessed identity status, parent-adolescent communication, and family conflict. It was hypothesized that for subjects scoring high on family conflict, high parent-adolescent communication would be related to crisis identity statuses (Achievement and Moratorium), and low parent-adolescent communication would be related to non-crisis identity statuses (Foreclosure and Diffusion). Subjects with low scores on levels of family conflict, regardless of levels of communication, would be assessed more often in successful identity formation statuses (Achievement and Moratorium) than subjects with high scores on levels of family conflict, as predicted by previous research. Finally, college females would be assessed in the Identity Achievement status more often than high school females since the older adolescent has had more experiences and is more likely to have been confronted with identity issues of ideology and interpersonal relationships, resulting in crisis and commitment. Overall, results indicated significant differences among the age groups, but did not support the expected relationships among family conflict and parent-adolescent communication and identity, or high parent-adolescent communication and successful identity development. Other interesting results were obtained and are discussed. Implications for future studies are reviewed.

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Introduction to the chapter

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the subject of identity development in adolescence. The literature reviewed is primarily from a psychodynamic theoretical background. A psychodynamic approach attempts to put into perspective an individual's unconscious struggle with conflicts and crises in human psychological development. Psychodynamic approaches include Freud's psychoanalytic theory and neo-Freudian theories that are modified versions of Freud's theory. The early roots of identity theory will be discussed highlighting Freud, Erikson, and Marcia's research. A summary of identity formation in women will include criticism of male-dominated early theories and a description of Josselson's research examining identity development in women. Current journal articles will be reviewed with an emphasis on findings about conflict, family relationships, and gender. Finally, my conclusions and hypotheses will be proposed at the end of this chapter.

Freud's theory of identity

Sigmund Freud (1949) was one of the first psychologists to talk about identity in his psychoanalytic theory of human psychological development. Freud viewed early psychosexual development as crucial to later personality. Freud's theory encompassed three inner agencies of the mind, instinctual motivations, and development through psychosexual stages.

The three agencies of the mind in psychoanalytic theory are the id, ego, and superego. The id makes up most of the unconscious and is motivated by a driving force of instincts. The id is described as working on a pleasure principle in order to satisfy its desires. The ego is a partly conscious agency working on a reality principle that often delays the satisfactions of the id. The superego or conscience makes up an individual's ideals and morals that come largely from parental values. Conflicts may arise from the id's wishes and the superego's moral demands (Freud, 1949). The id needs the ego to negotiate with the superego in order to arrive at a compromise between the two agencies, id and superego.

The id, ego, and superego are often in conflict. The ego develops from the id and is influenced by the external world. Thus, the ego is determined by an individual's experiences.

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These three agencies of the mind interact during the psychosexual stages: oral, anal, phallic, followed by a latency period, and genital.

The phallic stage that occurs during the early childhood years is crucial in Freud's theory of identity. Freud differentiates between the experiences of little boys and little girls in the phallic stage. Boys experience castration anxiety as part of the Oedipal conflict. During this time a boy sexually fantasizes about his mother, yet fears castration as punishment by his father. Identification with the father reduces the boy's anxiety. By becoming one with the father the boy is protected from castration because the father would not castrate himself (Freud, 1949).

Freud describes girls as experiencing a feeling of inferiority to boys because a little girl lacks a penis. Instead of castration anxiety girls experience penis envy as part of the Oedipal conflict (referred to as Electra conflict in girls). The idea that "biology is destiny" is central to Freud's theory. A girl directs her anger at not having a penis toward her mother while replacing her wish for a penis with a wish for her father as a love object. By identification with the mother, "becoming mommy," the girl is able to get closer to her father. The little girl seeks affection from her father with whom she secretly fantasizes having a baby. However, according to Freud, a girl cannot experience identification completely since she does not experience castration anxiety. So the girl can never completely resolve the conflict. Only by marrying and having a male baby can a woman come close to resolving the conflict (Freud, 1949).

Psychoanalytic theory assumes transitions in human psychological development (Hopkins, 1983). Progress through Freud's psychosexual stages begins with infantile sexuality and ends with adult genital sexuality. An infant and young child are autoerotic while the adult chooses another individual as an external love object. A period of latency from early childhood to puberty precedes the genital stage. Sexual repression occurs during latency when the id's impulses are inhibited and ego growth promoted. Furthermore, in development a process of separation and individuation occurs. Not only does an adolescent recognize herself as a separate person from her parents, but she often may want to be physically separate from parents. Adolescents achieve individuation, a sense of autonomy, when they acknowledge their own thoughts and ideas as well

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as assume more responsibility for themselves. Although the adolescent gains independence from her parents she does not completely reject the parental value system. An older adolescent will often recognize how she has assimilated her parents' values into a set of values she regards as her own (Hopkins, 1983). In fact, human development is said to be dialectical with respect to the connection and separation processes (Marcia, 1993).

In sum, Freud viewed human psychological development as under the control of psychosexual processes. He emphasized the development of sexual identity resulting from earlier childhood identifications. Erikson, in contrast, viewed human psychological development from a psychosocial perspective. The emphasis of Erikson's theory was on the influence of social factors upon an individual's subsequent identity formation.

Erik Erikson's theory of identity development

Erik Erikson modified Freud's psychosexual theory and developed a psychosocial theory of development. Erikson's theory asserts that during adolescence individuals experience crises necessary to resolve social issues of development. Erikson examined ego identity in a psychosocial context with emphasis on the individual in society rather than on sexual instincts alone. Erikson also pointed out that development is a lifelong process, not solely determined in childhood as Freud theorized.

Erikson's theory of development states that an individual progresses through eight psychosocial stages in life. Crises in each stage are necessary in order to resolve social issues and mature through the stages. These stages are said to refer to the ego's stages of development and growth (Kroger, 1993). It is during adolescence that an individual experiences a crisis of identity. At this time an adolescent begins to reflect about the self in the social world (Erikson, 1968).

Erikson described identity formation as an assimilation of previous identities into a coherent whole, unlike the single identification process that Freud describes taking place in the phallic stage. For Erikson:

Identity formation arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration, which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through subsocieties) identifies

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the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted. The community, often not without some initial mistrust, gives such recognition with a display of surprise and pleasure in making the acquaintance of a newly emerging individual...The final identity, then as fixed at the end of adolescence is superordinated to any single identification with individuals of the past: it includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them (Erikson, 1968, pp. 159-161).

In Erikson's theory the crises experienced during each psychosocial stage of development appear to be analogous to the conflicts experienced in the psychosexual stages as described in Freud's theory. Both are assumed to be largely unconscious and require resolution for healthy psychological development. The ego's task in identity formation is "to integrate the psychosexual and psychosocial aspects on a given level of development and at the same time to integrate the relation of newly added identity elements with those already in existence" (Erikson, 1968, p. 162). Erikson therefore worked toward "a new formulation of the ego's relation to the social order" by expanding the ego's task beyond controlling the instinctual demands (primarily sexual) of the id (p. 45).

According to Erikson, what is known as the "identity crisis" was first studied during World War II at Mt. Zion Veterans' Rehabilitation Clinic where many social scientists were involved in research with patients (Erikson, 1968). It was concluded that these patients, through war, had "lost a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity" (Erikson, 1968, p.17). Later, this research led to similar findings with youth, who according to Erikson were confused due to an "inner war" in which they, too, like the patients, sensed a loss of control over themselves that caused conflict. The ego is considered responsible for the sense of control in psychoanalytical theory.

Identity crisis in youth is now, since World War II, considered normal and no longer has negative implications. Instead it marks a turning point in life development (Erikson, 1968). Erikson describes the process of identity formation as largely unconscious both within an individual and within the individual's culture. The process is one in which the individual observes

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others and reflects about the self. Erikson describes this process as two-fold: the adolescent perceives himself according to how he thinks others judge him; and he thinks about the way in which others perceive him, while comparing himself to others (Erikson, 1968).

Erikson calls the psychosocial stage that occurs during adolescence “identity versus role confusion.” There are two possible outcomes of the identity crisis that the adolescent may experience at this stage. If the social issues are too demanding then the adolescent may become confused and unable to make choices. This confusion is also termed diffusion. Opposite of diffusion is the adolescent who considers alternatives and does so successfully in order to commit to ideological and interpersonal roles. This commitment is Identity Achievement (Hopkins, 1983; Erikson, 1968).

Erikson’s focus on identity development in adolescence served as a basis for subsequent research. James Marcia’s research was based directly on Erikson’s theory of identity. Marcia proposed that two additional possibilities existed between achievement and diffusion: foreclosure and moratorium. Four outcomes were thus possible for an adolescent struggling with issues of identity.

The research of James Marcia

In the 1960’s James Marcia proposed a means of assessing identity in adolescence that was in line with Erikson’s “formulation of the identity crisis as a *psychosocial* task,” and has now become an integral part of identity theory (Marcia, 1966, p. 551). An interview and scoring manual were developed based on the outcomes of Erikson’s identity development processes (i.e. achievement and diffusion). The interview determined one’s specific identity status, “that is, which of four concentration points along a continuum of ego-Identity Achievement best characterized him” (Marcia, 1966, p.551). Four statuses of identity are measured by Marcia’s Identity Status Interview. Initially, identity was assessed by the absence or presence of crisis and commitment in the domains of occupational choice, religion, and political ideology (sometimes referred to as occupation and ideology--religious and political). Crisis refers to one’s active exploration in choosing meaningful alternatives while commitment refers to the “extent of personal

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investment” (Marcia, 1966 & Marcia, 1980, p.161). Later revisions of the interview incorporated the above ideology domain along with an additional domain including issues of gender-role attitudes and beliefs about sex. Some studies on identity formation have developed new domains to include issues of friendship, dating, and family. Furthermore, the interview’s use has been extended to different ages and ethnic groups (Kroger, 1993). The four identity statuses are described as follows:¹

- 1) *Identity Achievement*- An individual commits to his or her own values of occupation and ideology after an active exploration period. Crisis and commitment are both present in occupation and ideology.
- 2) *Foreclosure* - An individual is committed to roles of occupation and ideology before exploring alternatives himself or herself. Such commitments are often the result of pressure from parents. Commitment is present but crisis absent.
- 3) *Identity Diffusion* - An individual is confused and has no interest in committing to occupation and ideology, regardless of the adolescent’s experience in exploration. Commitment is absent and crisis may or may not have occurred.
- 4) *Moratorium* - An individual is currently in active exploration and synthesizing childhood identifications, but has not yet committed to a psychosocial role. Crisis is present and commitment is absent. Erikson (1968) further describes Moratorium as a period during which adolescents can delay adult commitments.

Marcia’s original study (1966) reported the development and validation of his Identity Status Interview with male subjects. The following four variables were used as criteria to validate the identity statuses “as individual styles of coping with the psychosocial task of forming an ego identity” (p. 558): a concept attainment task (CAT), level of aspiration, authoritarianism, and self-esteem. The CAT measured the subjects’ abilities to learn a set of new concepts (attributes of cards) under stressful conditions. Levels of aspiration assessed subjects’ patterns of goal setting.

1 Throughout the rest of this thesis, subjects in studies who were assessed into one of the four identity statuses may themselves be referred to by the status names. For example, “High Identity Achievements had lower conflict in the family than low Identity Achievements.” Thus, identity status may be used as an adjective or noun.

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Authoritarian attitudes (authoritarianism) such as obedience, strong leadership, and respect for authority were measured by scores on the California F Scale. Self-esteem was assessed by subjects' scores on the Self-Esteem Questionnaire.

The results of the CAT indicated that Identity Achievements formed concepts under stress better than Diffusions and all other statuses combined. Data on level of aspiration indicated that Foreclosures aspired to higher goal levels than they actually attained as compared to Achievements and all other statuses combined. Results on the California F test indicated that Foreclosures scored higher on authoritarianism than Achievements and all other statuses combined. Results on the Self-Esteem Questionnaire were not significant, although Achievements changed less than Diffusions and Foreclosures on self-esteem scores after subjects were given false information about their personalities (an "invalidated self-definition" treatment condition (p. 554)).

These results then differentiated subjects who achieved an ego identity from those who did not. Achievements were better able to cope under the stressful conditions of the CAT and maintained realistic goals. In contrast, the Foreclosures were subservient to authorities, such as parents. In short, the subcategories of identity development were validated.

In a separate follow-up study Marcia (1976) reinterviewed thirty male subjects to gain longitudinal information about identity status. The following served as measures in the study: Marcia's Identity Status Interview was used to determine identity status. An Intimacy Status Interview assessed the quality and depth of subjects' interpersonal commitments. A series of questions was asked in order to determine subjects' lifestyles pertaining to "feelings of personal change, future direction, and overall flexibility" (p. 147). A final series of questions regarding campus demonstrations in 1969-70 was asked to assess subjects' campus activism.

Data from Marcia's follow-up study found that the Achievements and Moratoriums were more likely to change identity statuses six to seven years after college than Foreclosures and Diffusions. It was then suggested that identity formation was not necessarily stable. Subjects maintaining Achievement and Moratorium status (from the previous study) had deeper interpersonal commitments than those subjects who remained as Foreclosures and Diffusions. Therefore, identity appeared to precede intimacy as Erikson theorized. More Achievements

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reported that they were both focused and flexible in life than did all other statuses combined. More Achievements and Moratoriums had participated in past campus activism than did Foreclosures and Diffusions. An unexpected finding was that four Achievements and two Moratoriums moved into Foreclosure status. Marcia speculated that faults in rating methodologies, such as misjudging identity status in either the previous or follow-up study could have accounted for this. However, Hopkins (1983) points out that the identity formation development sequence (Foreclosure, Diffusion and Moratorium all hypothesized to precede Achievement) has been supported in some studies and rejected in others.

The research on identity development described so far has focused on men. There has been a movement to explore and expand research on identity development to include women.

Criticisms of male-dominated early theories

Most research on identity in adolescence has been conducted with populations of male subjects. The lack of research on identity formation in women may be in part due to psychoanalytic theory. Freud's theory was a male dominant theory that viewed women's identification conflict as incapable of ever being fully resolved (Freud, 1949). Perhaps a break from the traditional psychoanalytic view proved difficult.

Erikson's theory has also been criticized as being a theory of male development (Dyk & Adams, 1992). Dyk and Adams state that "although sex differences are acknowledged by Erikson, in that girls emphasize inner space and that their identity development appears to be fused with intimacy formation, these gender differences are apparently not significant enough for Erikson to alter the eight-stage developmental progression to recognize gender differences" (p.92).

Marcia's development of his theory of ego identity statuses was a result of his research on male college students. Although Marcia and Friedman (1970) developed a measure of ego identity status for women, a first of its kind, the revised interview merely added a new domain of "attitudes toward premarital sex" to Marcia's original ego-identity status interview. The new domain was thought to be a criterion particularly applicable to women. The five variables used to validate the interview for women were difficulty of college major (as rated by a separate sample of women), a

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cognitive task, self-esteem, authoritarianism, and anxiety. Cognitive flexibility (time taken to achieve a cognitive task) was measured by subjects' performances on the Luchins' Water Jars test. Authoritarian attitudes were indicated by subjects' scores on the California F Scale. The Welsh Anxiety Scale measured subjects' anxiety. To replicate previous results for men that found verbal IQ scores were not confounded with identity status, a vocabulary intelligence test of the Shipley-Hartford Scale was used as a control variable in this study with women subjects.

All data indicated intercorrelated variables for the women in this study. Identity Achievements engaged in more difficult college majors than Diffusions. Foreclosures had significantly higher self-esteem scores than both Achievements and Diffusions. Data on authoritarianism indicated that Foreclosures scored highest while Moratoriums scored lowest. Results on the anxiety scale indicated Foreclosures were least anxious while Diffusions were most anxious. The overall results of the Foreclosures were further discussed by the authors in light of differences between this study and a separate previous study. The Foreclosures were described as possibly seeking approval by answering the measures in socially desirable ways. It was also suggested that the Foreclosure status is adaptive for women because of its similarity to the traditional female role. The lack of any significant differences on the cognitive task was viewed as a possible limiting factor of the whole identity construct. In general, however, the variables used for validation supported the interview's applicability to women since the predictions for women and men based on identity status were similar (Marcia & Friedman, 1970).

Archer (1993) refers to two historical assumptions inherent in the Identity Status Interview. Men were characterized as making "isolated self decisions" (p. 75). Therefore, men were considered to be intrapersonal. This characterization suggested that men's identity status might be studied within the context of ideological issues such as occupation, religion, and political beliefs. In contrast, women were characterized as making "self-in-relationship decisions" (p.75). In order to study women's identity status the identity issues such as friendship, dating, sex roles, and family were included. The two domains (i.e., ideological and interpersonal) were merged in subsequent identity status methodologies.

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Marcia (1980) reports about research on the main differences found in identity statuses between men and women. Marcia reviewed studies that explored college men and women's need for achievement (*nAch*). Those men and women in Identity Achievement status had the highest *nAch* scores as compared to Diffusions who had the lowest *nAch* scores. Moratorium women scored highest on fear of success measures followed by Identity Achievement women. Among male subjects Diffusions had the highest scores for fear of success. Orlofsky concluded (as reported in Marcia, 1980) that the high fear of success scores in Moratorium and Achievement women reflected possible conflicts these women experienced. The conflicts were explained as arising from the Moratorium and Achievement women's exploration of ambitious social roles combined with the knowledge that these ambitious roles were traditionally defined as male-dominant roles. These conclusions were further supported by data for men which indicated completely opposite results from women's. Male Achievements and Moratoriums had a low fear of success while Foreclosures and Diffusions had a high fear of success.

According to Marcia (1980), identity status grouping patterns for women differ from patterns found for men. Women's identity was reported by Marcia as being related to the stability of the status, that is the commitment to an identity such as Achievement and Foreclosure. This relationship may account for data that suggest the Achievement and Foreclosure statuses are more related to each other for women than the Achievement and Moratorium statuses for men. The Achievement and Moratorium statuses versus Foreclosure and Diffusion statuses stand out as the usual grouping patterns obtained for men rather than the Foreclosure and Achievement versus Moratorium and Diffusion patterns for women. To summarize, "foreclosing an identity [for women] has seemed to have about the same positive effects as achieving an identity" (p. 174). In addition, Marcia suggests that the groupings for women are "a function of both of the dependent variables used in a particular study and of the existing cultural supports for women's exploration of alternatives" (p. 175). The significance of these findings is that important differences may exist between men and women's identity formations, although data do not seem to provide precise enough information on the existing differences.

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Research on identity development evolved to include more research with mixed subject populations. However, often times such studies pointed out differences between men and women, and assumed that each gender group was itself homogenous. Josselson conducted research to gain information on the differences that exist among women.

Josselson's research on identity formation in women

Ruthellen Josselson's research (1987) is distinctive for its emphasis on identity formation in women. Josselson's research may be viewed as progress in the formation of a theory of development of women, even though she was trained in the psychoanalytic tradition. Her research has focused on differences within women as a group, rather than those differences that exist between the genders (when the assumption is that the gender groups do not differ within themselves). Identity formation, then, may be considered a process that differentiates among women. Josselson performed a longitudinal study of identity development in women during their college years in the 1970's and again twelve years later. The first study included 48 seniors randomly selected from four colleges and universities plus another twelve women from a second sample, accounting for a grand total of 60 subjects. Of the 48, twelve subjects were categorized into one of the four identity statuses. It is not reported how many of the other sample of 12 fell into each status. Subjects were interviewed with Marcia's Identity Status Interview encompassing domains of occupation, religion, politics, and sex, followed by an open-ended clinical interview, in an effort to reveal developmental processes in women. Of the original 60 college women, 34 were located for the follow-up study and included (from the original interview) eight Achievements, eight Foreclosures, seven Diffusions, and ten Moratoriums. The women's lives after college were reviewed with essentially the same measures (some were interviewed, some responded by questionnaire and/or tape-recorder). The follow-up study also included questions on education/occupational history, personal history, and personal growth (Josselson, 1987).

Josselson described in great detail her findings about the individual women subjects in her studies. Josselson's descriptions represent information she gained from taped-recorded interviews rated with a 90% reliability by advanced graduate clinical psychology students, Josselson, and

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another clinical psychologist. The follow-up rating may be less reliable due to the lack of data on the validity of the Identity Status Interview for subjects beyond adolescence. The following paragraphs represent my own abridged versions of her overall findings and conclusions of the four identity statuses.

The Foreclosures as a group were very similar. All of the eight subjects remained in the same identity status twelve years after college. Among the Foreclosures there was an emphasis on security and safety, especially in the subject's own family during the college years. Foreclosures maintained attributes of their own families' value systems after college. Among Foreclosures there were few meaningful peer relationships and most had difficulty in forming such relationships. The Foreclosures were described as repressing their sexuality in late adolescence for fear of guilt associated with their parents' values. Josselson explained that Foreclosures appeared to believe that others "make you to be what you are" (p. 67).

The Identity Achievements were a more diverse group than the Foreclosures. Seven of the eight remained Achievements after college, while one returned to Moratorium. Independence was found to be the distinguishing factor of Achievements, although not in the "loner" sense of the word (p. 95). This independence, considered in the context of separating and individuating from parents, was often redirected at depending on others' support (friends and husbands). Many of the Achievements reported having "hard-to-please" parents. The Achievements were described as acting in ways that they themselves interpreted as valuable to the world, for intrinsic purposes. Josselson also described Achievements as capable of tolerating guilt. Achievements were found to change careers after a period of time, but did not do so on a spontaneous basis. Like the Foreclosures, Achievements were goal-oriented, yet unlike Foreclosures, the Achievements recognized what they could and could not control in life. Achievements were flexible and likely to continue to change. All in all, Achievements maintained a "balance among work, relationships, and interests" (p. 102).

With the exception of one, the ten Moratoriums had changed identity statuses after college: three to Achievements and six to Foreclosure/Achievements, a new status group for subjects who had committed, but to others' value systems rather than their own. Moratoriums were similar in

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that during college they expressed a need for relationships and support from others--basic concepts important in identity formation. Moratoriums were said to be more insightful, self-reflective, and sensitive than other groups. Josselson proposed that this finding may have accounted for these women constantly experiencing conflict. Conflict was difficult to overcome for many Moratoriums since they had made choices in life that they remained unsure about. Moratoriums experienced guilt for much of their sexual activity in college. Josselson's explanation suggested that the guilt arose from having disappointed not only the individual's parents but also herself. In sum, Josselson described Moratoriums as having a goal to "seek answers for what is right," that when answered would lead to identity formation.

Diffusions were the most varied and complex group according to Josselson. Among the Diffusions four subgroups were delineated to describe the subjects: 1) severe psychopathology, 2) previous developmental deficits, 3) Moratorium-Diffusion, and 4) Foreclosure-Diffusion. The first two subgroups described half of all of the Diffusions, who had deviant personalities and had difficulty with psychological issues. They were often in therapy. The Moratorium-Diffusion group was less ambitious in exploration than other Moratoriums, although more so than other Diffusions. In addition, these women often moved back and forth between Moratorium and Diffusion statuses. The Foreclosure-Diffusion subjects were described as drifters, not quite yet having reached Foreclosure status. Josselson explained that Diffusion in college is a sign of "the ego in distress." The Diffusion status was discovered not to be "a transitory state" as subjects were unable to capitalize on opportunities available to them during college. The lack of resolution of problems in college apparently led to later troubles that subjects in other statuses solved earlier. Of the nine original Diffusions included in the follow-up study, three remained Diffuse, one was categorized as Diffuse but trying to settle down, and three moved into Achievement. In conclusion, Diffusions were found to be incapable of incorporating experiences as part of the self. Since college, Diffusions found identity formation more difficult due to the increase in freedom that made "anything possible" (p. 167).

Josselson (1987) sums up identity as a stable sense of who one is in the world. She adds

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that this does not just happen, but there comes a point when one can look back upon her life and realize how she has changed and how she has remained the same (Josselson, 1987). Josselson says that "Erikson suggests intimacy may precede identity for a woman-that is, a woman cannot define who she is until she chooses who she will be in relation to her mate-to-be" (p.22). It follows, according to Josselson's review of previous research, that adolescent females' identity formation (as opposed to adolescent males') is related to connection with others, including families (Josselson, 1987).

Recent research

The theorists reviewed above served as a starting point for my investigation into identity development. The journal articles reviewed below were chosen on the basis of the relevancy of each study to an examination of adolescent subjects' identity with respect to gender differences and adolescents' relationships with family. Nearly all were published in the last five years and thus represent up-to-date research. The two broad divisions of these journal articles are identity of adolescents and family relationships, and processes involved in the formation of identity in adolescence.

Identity of adolescents and family relationships

Bhushan and Shirali (1992) explored family type and communication as variables affecting Identity Achievement in male subjects age 18-24. The subjects' family types were determined by scores on the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scale. This scale evaluated the amount of cohesion in the family --emotional bonding among family members, and the adaptability of the family --how well the family responds to stress by changing power structure, roles, and rules. Ultimately three family types were derived from the cohesion and adaptability dimensions. Balanced families had moderate scores on both dimensions. Mid-range families had one moderate score and the other very high or low. Extreme families had extreme (very high or low) scores on both dimensions.

Identity Achievement of the subjects was reported as either high or low (\pm one SD) on the Identity Achievement Scale. Subjects reported their perceptions of communication with both

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parents on the Parent-adolescent Communication Scale (Barnes & Olson, 1982). The Communication Scale measured positive aspects (better communication and openness) and negative aspects (problems in communication and openness) of communication. Adolescent male subjects were found to experience more openness and fewer problems in communicating in balanced families as opposed to extreme family types. High Identity Achievement males were found to experience more openness, better communication, and fewer familial problems than low Identity Achievement males (Bhushan & Shirali, 1992).

There was a direct relationship between communication and adolescents' identity formation in Bhushan and Shirali (1992). Since the study explored communication and identity in only male subjects one might ask whether communication is also a variable affecting female adolescents' identity formation.

Nelson, Hughes, Handal, Katz, and Searight (1993) found support for the psychological-wholeness model that states the level of family conflict is crucial in affecting Identity Achievement. The purpose of the study was to extend previous research on relationships among family conflict, family structure, and young adult adjustment with the addition of an ego identity status measure. Of the 285 subjects, 27% were male and 73% were female college students age 17-24.

Family conflict (openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict) was measured on the conflict subscale of the Family Environment Scale (Moos, 1974). The level of conflict was high, middle, or low depending on the range of scores. The Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986) assessed ego identity. In this particular study a total score for Identity Achievement was determined for each subject by combining ideology achievement scores (encompassing occupation, religion, politics, and philosophical lifestyle issues) with interpersonal achievement scores (encompassing issues of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation). In addition, current psychiatric symptoms of the subjects were assessed by the Brief Symptom Inventory, a self-report of the degree of distress of the previous week. The results indicated that higher conflict in the family predicted lower Identity Achievement scores. Subjects that scored low on conflict reported significantly lower scores on the Brief Symptom

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Inventory than subjects from middle conflict families (Nelson, et al., 1993).

Since the subject population in the Nelson, et al. (1993) study was by majority female, results may have been biased (as the authors do suggest). Although high conflict meant lower Identity Achievement what effect does conflict have in relation to all four identity statuses? Does conflict always have a negative effect on identity status or might conflict exert positive effects under certain circumstances? An exploration of conflict and other variables as they relate to identity formation seems warranted.

Weinmann and Newcombe (1990) examined the relationship between identity status and memories of male and female adolescents' relationships with parents. The purpose of this study was to establish that identity commitment, indicating self-stability, is the transition necessary for adolescents to perceive an increased closeness in relationships with parents (as opposed to crisis, indicating instability). The mean age of the subjects was 19 years.

Subjects' identity statuses were determined by scores on the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status. A questionnaire designed by Pipp, Shaver, Jennings, Lamborn, and Fischer (as reported in Weinmann & Newcombe, 1990) assessed adolescents' memories of their emotional relationships with parents across five age periods along six dimensions (love, responsibility, dominance, similarity, independence, and friendship).

The following trends in adolescents' emotional relationships with parents were found across the five age periods. On the rating dimension of love those subjects in committed statuses (Achievements & Foreclosures) indicated an increased amount of perceived love both from and for their mothers over time. In contrast, the subjects in uncommitted statuses (Moratoriums & Diffusions) reported the opposite. Data in the dimension of dominance indicated that subjects in general perceived an increase in dominance from mothers and a decrease in dominance from fathers over time. Subjects reported perceived increases in dominance over their mothers, and increases in perceived independence from both parents as well as parents' independence from the adolescents. On the responsibility dimension, subjects reported more responsibility for both parents and perceived both parents as having less responsibility for the adolescents. No trends were found for

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dimensions of similarity or friendship (Weinmann & Newcombe, 1990).

The results of the Weinmann and Newcombe (1990) study suggest that family relationships are important in adolescents' identity formation. It appears that subjects in general exhibited patterns of separation and individuation, but the Achievements and Foreclosures were in stable statuses which provided for a reestablishment of intimacy with parents. One might expect to see specific, separate effects of communication with the subject's mother and with the father since differences with other variables (perceived love, dominance, and independence) were found in Weinmann & Newcombe (1990).

Lopez, Watkins, Manus, and Hunton-Shoup (1992) researched adolescents' relationships to parents in terms of a model in which the adolescent is assumed to experience both autonomy and connectedness with parents. This study takes into account an area of identity that focuses on separation and individuation of the adolescent from the family. Three variables, conflictual independence, mood regulation, and generalized self-efficacy were found to be important in the progress of identity development. Conflictual independence (CI) from parents was proposed to serve as a gauge of healthy autonomy where higher CI scores signified a "more positive and less emotionally reactive relationship" between parents and adolescents (Lopez, et al., 1992, p. 377). The conflictual independent adolescent was expected to assume more responsibility that, in general, would lead to positive feelings and a sense of ability to perform tasks across situations (self-efficacy).

Eighty-one college men and 143 women (average age was 19.82 years) completed questionnaires designed to measure conflictual independence, mood states, self-efficacy, and success in the first six stages of Erikson's eight stages of development. Results of a hierarchical regression analyses on the combined sample of subjects found that all three variables predicted identity scores. For men, mood states and self-efficacy were positively correlated with identity scores. All three variables were positively correlated for women.

In the Lopez, et al. (1992) study it is interesting to note that in the separate analyses conflictual independence (comparable to separation and individuation from parents) and identity

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success were significantly correlated only for women. This suggests that the parent-adolescent relationship may be particularly crucial in identity formation in women.

The research reviewed above indicates that aspects of family relationships are important to identity development in women. One may also ask, what sorts of processes take place during identity formation?

Processes involved in adolescents' identity formation

Possible phases in the process of identity formation from Foreclosure to Achievement, and the statuses' associations with world views (reflecting current attitudes) were outlined by Kroger (1990). Seventy-three male and female (age 19-22 years) subjects' identity statuses were determined by Marcia's Ego Identity Status Interview. On the basis of the Early Memories Interview subjects were grouped according to common themes.

This study found that Diffusions expressed themes of "longing for relatedness" in comparison to all other statuses. Foreclosures expressed themes of "seeking security, proximity to support from significant other/familiar setting" more often than all other statuses. Moratoriums expressed themes of "moving away from significant other/familiar setting" more often than Achievements and Foreclosures. Achievements expressed themes of "moving contentedly alone or alongside significant other" more often than Foreclosures (Kroger, 1990, pp. 72, 73). The results of this study suggest the importance that separation-individuation plays in identity formation.

Bilsker and Marcia (1991) investigated the relationship between identity formation and the process of psychological adaptive regression in 36 male and 35 female subjects (age 17-24). Adaptive regression describes a shift of state to "a non-logical, artistic, and imagery-based mode" when an adolescent withdraws from external reality (allowing ego experimentation) to better deal with reality (p. 76). It was proposed that regression is adaptive and makes it easier for the adolescent to question parental beliefs and move toward a personal commitment by providing an "inner focus" (p. 76).

Marcia's Identity Status Interview was used to assess subjects' ego identity. Subjects reported the frequency of certain regressive experiences (i.e. peak experiences, dissociated experiences, openness to inner experience, belief in the supernatural, and intrinsic arousal) on the

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Taft Ego Permissiveness Inventory. Results of this study indicated that subjects in Moratorium (those in active exploration questioning parental beliefs and moving toward a commitment) were more likely to engage in adaptive regression than those individuals in all other identity statuses combined. Furthermore, women were more likely than men to engage in adaptive regressive experiences (Bilsker & Marcia, 1991). This suggests that women do develop identity differently from men in terms of possible processes involved.

Berzonsky, Rice, and Neimeyer (1990) investigated self-identity (identity status) and its conceptualization as a self-theory. According to Berzonsky, et al. (1990) previous studies have identified differences in identity structure--how the individuals in the four identity statuses "process, structure, and utilize self-relevant information" (p. 252). Berzonsky, et al. (1990) cited previous research findings about the four statuses: Diffusions avoid coping with problems and have limited attention spans. Foreclosures have inflexible belief systems and are "intolerant of ambiguity" (p. 252). In addition, Foreclosures experience difficulties in their ability to sort through "conflicting sources of information" (p. 252). Achievements and Moratoriums differed from Diffusions and Foreclosures in that the first two statuses show complex thinking, complex integration, and self-certainty in their identity structures. The following were concluded about the "processing orientations" of the statuses: Achievements and Moratoriums are information-oriented self-explorers; Foreclosures are norm-oriented in their expectations from others; and Diffusions are avoidance-oriented procrastinators.

Berzonsky, et al. (1990) hypothesized that structural differences like differentiation, integration, and self-certainty in subjects' self-theories would reflect characteristics of the statuses. Subjects' self-theories were assessed by a modified version of Kelly's (1963) Role Construct Repertory Test. Subjects' tasks for the Repertory Test involved describing themselves in eight bipolar constructs, dividing their lives into personally meaningful time periods, and rating themselves in each of the time periods along their constructed bipolar dimension, e.g., "Since I came to college: *confident/insecure*" (p. 256). Differentiation was measured by how differently the constructs were used in subjects' self-theories. More variation in construct use signified more

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complex self-theories. Integration was determined by how well the constructs were intercorrelated and organized. Self-certainty was determined by how certain (as opposed to ambiguous) subjects were in their judgments and ratings. This study was modified from a previous study. Sixty-eight women and 50 men (age 17-25 years) were classified by identity status on the basis of the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986).

Results of this study indicated that Moratoriums had significantly higher scores reflecting higher differentiation of the construct dimensions used during self-ratings. Uncommitted Moratoriums and Diffusions distinguished among their ratings of personally meaningful time periods in life more than committed Achievements and Foreclosures. Achievements were found to have the highest rating of self-certainty on the construct dimensions while Diffusions had the least (Berzonsky, et al., 1990). Although no gender differences were found, the results indicate that the structures of subjects' self-theories were related to their processing orientations. Berzonsky, et al. (1990) discussed that the presence or absence of both commitment and crisis contributed to the results. "Self-certainty in judgment, for instance, was associated with participants who were both information-oriented [self-explorers] and committed (Achievements)" (p. 271). Less self-certainty was associated with participants who were committed but not information-oriented (Foreclosures), and less self-certainty was associated with participants who were not committed but information-oriented (Moratoriums). The authors concluded that the role of commitment and crisis needs to be explored further.

The importance of achieving identity formation is underlined by the Berzonsky, et al. study (1990) that points to possible differences that exist regarding one's sense of self, and highlights that one's commitments might act as stable forces in an adolescent's life. Characteristics of each identity status, such as amount of self-certainty, may be reflected in adolescents' problems experienced during identity development.

Conclusions and hypotheses

I have concluded that female adolescents' relationships with the family and adolescents' own experiences not directly related to the family, are important to identity development. Female

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adolescents are oriented toward intimate (close) relationships and need support from others (Josselson, 1980; Lopez, et al., 1992; Kroger, 1990). At the same time, adolescence is a time of individuation of oneself from others. Both closeness and individuation may be achieved when conflict is accompanied by high levels of communication. Thus, I hypothesize that communication between parents and adolescents is a mediating variable between high levels of family conflict and identity status.

Although previous research (Nelson et al., 1993) found that high levels of family conflict predicted lower Identity Achievement scores, no additional variables were studied to determine other possible relationships. It seems that conflict expressed in the family may in fact be helpful for the adolescent when high levels of communication accompany conflict. The communication may provide opportunities for explanation and further questioning of both family conflict issues and identity issues of ideology and interpersonal relationships. Therefore, I will explore the effects of communication, conflict, and identity status in female adolescent subjects. The combination of high conflict with high communication would produce a crisis. The adolescent in crisis engages in active exploration while maintaining a sense of assurance that communication is possible with the adolescent's family.

Specifically I hypothesize: 1) For subjects scoring high on family conflict, high parent-adolescent communication will be related to crisis identity statuses (Achievement and Moratorium), and low parent-adolescent communication will be related to non-crisis identity statuses (Foreclosure and Diffusion). 2) Subjects with low scores on levels of family conflict, regardless of levels of communication, will be assessed more often in successful identity formation statuses (Achievement and Moratorium) than subjects with high scores on levels of family conflict, as predicted by previous research. 3) College females will be assessed in the Identity Achievement status more often than high school females since the older adolescent has had more experiences and is more likely to have been confronted with identity issues of ideology and interpersonal relationships, resulting in crisis and commitment. This is not to say that all individuals achieve a successful identity formation, or do so in the same way. Identity formation is an ongoing developmental process.

Method

Subjects

A total of 97 female subjects volunteered to participate in this study, although data for analyses came from 90 subjects' completed questionnaires. Seniors and freshmen undergraduate subjects were from Sweet Briar College, VA, and high school sophomores were from Amherst High School, VA. College seniors ($n=31$) ranged in age from 21 to 22 years of age ($M=21.355$). College freshmen ($n=30$) were 18 to 19 years of age ($M=18.367$). High school sophomores ($n=29$) ranged in age from 15 to 17 ($M=15.517$).

Materials

•The Revised Version of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status: Subjects' identity statuses were determined by the Revised EOM-EIS (Bennion & Adams, 1986) which is considered "the most highly developed and validated group-administered questionnaire form assessing identity status" (Marcia, 1993 p. 17). The EOM-EIS classifies subjects into one of Marcia's (1966) four identity statuses (Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, or Diffusion) within two domains, ideological and interpersonal. The ideological domain includes questions regarding occupation, politics, religion, and philosophical lifestyle (essentially a viewpoint about one's preferred way of life). The interpersonal domain includes questions regarding issues of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation. Subjects responded to the 64 items in this inventory on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from A-*Strongly Agree* to F-*Strongly Disagree*. The questionnaire is provided in the Appendix with each item designated according to domain and identity status.

•Parent-adolescent Communication Scale: The PAC (Barnes & Olson, 1982) is a measure of the subject's perceived positive and negative aspects of communication between herself and both her mother and her father. Openness is considered to characterize positive communication. It is

defined as the “freedom or flowing exchange of information, both factual and emotional as well as the sense of lack of constraint and degree of understanding and satisfaction experienced in interactions” (p. 37). Negative aspects of communication were defined as “hesitancy to share, negative styles of interaction, and selectivity and caution in what is shared” (p. 37). Subjects were asked to respond to the 40 items in this questionnaire on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1- *Strongly Disagree* to 5-*Strongly Agree*. Subjects responded to two subscales of the questionnaire, one for the subject’s communication with her mother, and the other for the subject’s communication with her father. Both subscales contained identical questions.

•Conflict subscale of the Family Environment Scale: The conflict subscale of the FES is a true-false measure of high, medium, and low “openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict” among family members as perceived by the subject (Moos, 1974, Moos & Moos, 1986 p. 2, Moos, 1989). Originally a nine-item subscale, the measure was reduced to eight items as the researcher omitted one item, “Family members sometimes hit each other” out of concern that answering the item would cause distress for some subjects.

The questionnaires and permission form used in this study are included in Appendix C.

Procedure

The researcher introduced herself and explained she was seeking volunteers to participate in a study on “female adolescents’ relationships with parents and perceptions of themselves.” Subjects were given information about their participation in the study and informed of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Subjects were required to sign a permission form that was returned prior to the completion of the three questionnaires. For the high school sophomore sample only, a permission form was signed by parents prior to subjects signing their permission forms themselves.

Subjects were given an envelope that contained the three questionnaires described above. The questionnaires were assembled in the envelopes in the above order (EOM-EIS, PAC, Conflict subscale). The two subscales (mother/father) of the PAC were counterbalanced. Placement was

such that in every other envelope distributed, the communication questions with respect to the adolescent's relationship with her mother appeared on the front of the page with the communication questions for the father on the back side of the page. Subjects were asked to complete the questionnaires and return them in their sealed envelopes. The total time to complete the questionnaires was estimated to be thirty minutes.

Results

Scoring

The Revised Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status

Separate scores were obtained for each of the four identity statuses. Means were found for items corresponding to each status. As reported in previous research (Berzonsky, et. al., 1990; Weinmann & Newcombe, 1990) if a subject's scores fell at least one standard deviation above the mean in one status and below that point in all other statuses then the subject was assigned that status.

As shown in Table 1, preliminary descriptive analyses indicated that few subjects met criteria for assessment into pure identity statuses. As in other research (Frank, et. al., 1990; Nelson, et al., 1993) subsequent analyses were performed using subjects' combined ideological and interpersonal scores for each of the identity statuses, regardless of their "purity." The means for each identity status for the total sample are reported in Table 2. High scores indicate high levels of development in that status (Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, or Diffusion).

Parent-adolescent Communication Scale

Two communication scores were computed, one for the subject's communication with her mother, and the other for communication with her father. Means for the total sample are reported in Table 2 where high scores indicate more open communication with the parent.

Conflict

A total score for conflict was determined by summing the eight items on the Conflict subscale of the Family Environment Scale. Means for the total sample for conflict are reported in Table 2. High scores indicate more conflict in the family than low scores.

Analyses

The primary hypothesis was that for subjects scoring high on family conflict, high parent-adolescent communication would be related to crisis identity statuses (Identity Achievement and Moratorium), and low parent-adolescent communication would be related to non-crisis identity statuses (Foreclosure and Diffusion). Two types of analyses were performed on data to test the primary hypothesis. ANOVAs were performed on data for conflict and parent-adolescent communication with identity statuses as the dependent variables. Medians were used to categorize subjects' scores as high or low on conflict, communication with mother, and communication with father. In addition, Pearson correlation analyses were conducted to determine possible relationships among identity, communication, and conflict.

Four 2 (high conflict/low conflict) \times 2 (high communication with mother/low communication with mother) ANOVAs with identity statuses as the dependent variables were performed. The hypothesis predicts a conflict by communication interaction for each status. This hypothesis was not supported, but other interesting effects were obtained. A significant main effect for conflict was found for Identity Achievement, $F(1, 81) = 5.289$, $p < 0.024$. Subjects reporting high conflict in the family had higher Identity Achievement scores ($M=68.477$) than subjects with low conflict in the family ($M=64.105$).

A significant main effect for communication with mother was found for Identity Moratorium, $F(1, 81) = 5.129$, $p < 0.026$. Subjects reporting high communication with mother had lower Identity Moratorium scores ($M=47.911$) than subjects with low communication with mother ($M=53.270$).

No significant results were indicated for conflict \times communication with mother for all

identity statuses. ANOVAs are reported in Appendix A.

Four 2 (high conflict/low conflict) \times 2 (high communication with father/low communication with father) ANOVAs with identity statuses as the dependent variables were performed. The hypothesis predicts a conflict by communication interaction for each status. The hypothesis was not supported. A main effect for conflict was found for Identity Achievement, $F(1, 77) = 3.804, p < 0.055$. Subjects reporting high conflict in the family had higher Identity Achievement scores ($M=68.767$) than subjects with low conflict in the family ($M=65.200$).

A significant main effect for communication with father was found for Identity Foreclosure, $F(1, 77) = 5.304, p < 0.024$. Subjects reporting high communication with father had higher Identity Foreclosure scores ($M=38.125$) than subjects with low communication with father ($M=31.158$).

No significant results were indicated for conflict \times communication with father for all identity statuses. ANOVAs are reported in Appendix A.

To identify relationships between communication with both parents and conflict, Pearson correlations were performed on data for college seniors, college freshmen, high school sophomores and the overall total sample. As shown in Table 3, overall, significant negative correlations were found between conflict and communication with mother ($r(80) = -0.4089, p < 0.01$), and conflict and communication with father ($r(76) = -0.4201, p < 0.05$) for the total sample. As conflict increased, communication with both parents decreased.

Among the individual samples, results for high school sophomores, reported in Table 4, showed significant negative correlations between conflict and communication with mother ($r(25) = -0.4778, p < 0.05$), and between conflict and communication with father ($r(23) = -0.4319, p < 0.05$). Furthermore, a significant negative correlation for college seniors, reported in Table 5, was found between conflict and communication with father ($r(26) = -0.4399, p < 0.05$.) Table 6 presents the correlations between conflict and communication for college freshmen. While not significant, these are also negative.

Pearson correlation analyses were used to examine relationships among identity statuses, communication, and conflict. As shown in Table 3 there was an overall significant negative

correlation between communication with mother and Moratorium ($r(80) = -0.2629, p < 0.05$) such that as communication with mother decreased, Moratorium scores increased. Although nonsignificant, results for college seniors (Table 5) indicate a negative correlation between communication with mother and Moratorium ($r(27) = -0.3007, ns$) that appears to have contributed to the overall significant finding.

No significant relationships were found among Diffusion, communication, and conflict.

For high school sophomores a significant positive correlation ($r(23) = 0.5269, p < 0.01$) existed between communication with father and Foreclosure status such that as communication with father increased, Foreclosure increased. This finding probably accounts for the overall significant positive correlation found for the total sample between communication with father and Foreclosure ($r(76) = 0.2666, p < 0.05$).

The second hypothesis was that subjects with low scores on family conflict, regardless of levels of communication, would be assessed more often in successful identity formation statuses, i.e., Identity Achievement and Moratorium, than subjects with high scores on levels of family conflict, as predicted by previous research (Nelson, et al., 1993). As indicated by Pearson's correlation analyses in Tables 5 and 6, this hypothesis was not supported. Higher conflict was associated with higher Identity Achievement for college seniors ($r(29) = 0.2663, ns$) and freshmen ($r(28) = 0.2929, ns$), although not significantly so. However, the college senior and freshmen samples appear to have contributed to the significant overall positive correlation between conflict and Achievement for the total sample, $r(88) = 0.2277, p < 0.05$. As conflict increased, subjects' Identity Achievement increased.

Negative correlations were found between conflict and Foreclosure status for both college freshmen ($r(28) = -0.2561, ns$) and high school sophomores ($r(27) = -0.2808, ns$). These results indicate trends toward lower conflict predicting higher Foreclosure. Along the same lines, relationships between conflict and Diffusion status indicate interesting results. Results for college freshmen show a significant negative correlation between conflict and Diffusion ($r(28) = -0.5189, p < 0.01$). For college freshmen, lower conflict predicted higher Diffusion.

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The high school sophomores differ from the college freshmen such that as conflict increases, Diffusion increases as well ($t(27) = 0.2617$, ns).

To further examine the conflict variable, subjects were collapsed into two groups, a college sample including both seniors and freshmen, and the high school sample of sophomores. A t -test was performed on the two collapsed groups and conflict scores. Results indicated a marginally significant difference between the college samples' conflict scores and the high school sophomores' conflict scores, $t(88) = -1.92$, $p < 0.058$. High school subjects ($M=4.517$) reported greater levels of conflict in the family than college subjects ($M=3.459$).

The third hypothesis was that older females, i.e., college seniors, would be assessed in the Identity Achievement status more often than both high school sophomores and college freshmen. Support for the hypothesis is implied upon inspection of the pure identity statuses in Table 1. There are more Achievements among college seniors than both college freshmen and high school sophomores. Moreover, as might be expected, more Diffusions and Foreclosures are found among high school sophomores than college seniors.

Four one-way ANOVAs were conducted on each of the four identity statuses comparing the three age groups of subjects. A significant difference was found among the means for identity Moratorium, $F(2, 87) = 4.2675$, $p < 0.0171$. The results of the Duncan Multiple-Range Test performed on the three means, as shown in Table 7, indicate that college seniors had significantly lower Moratorium scores ($M=47.452$) than high school sophomores ($M=55.103$). Furthermore, college freshmen had significantly lower Moratorium scores ($M=49.667$) than high school sophomores.

A significant difference among the means for identity Foreclosure was found, $F(2, 87) = 5.5091$, $p < 0.0056$. The results of the Duncan Multiple-Range Test performed on the three means, as shown in Table 8, indicate that college seniors had significantly lower Foreclosure scores ($M=30.226$) than high school sophomores ($M=40.552$).

Finally, a significant difference among the means for Identity Diffusion was indicated, $F(2, 87) = 16.7569$, $p < 0.00001$. As reported in Table 9, the Duncan Multiple-Range Test

performed on the three means indicates that all age groups' Diffusion scores differed significantly from each other. High school sophomores had the highest Diffusion ($M=50.3793$) followed by college freshmen ($M=42.0333$) and college seniors with the lowest Diffusion ($M=36.9355$).

No significant differences among the means for Identity Achievement were obtained. All one-way ANOVAs are reported in Appendix B.

The intercorrelation matrices for high school sophomores, college seniors, and college freshmen, presented in Tables 4, 5, and 6 also show intercorrelations among identity statuses. The following variables were significantly related for senior women in college. Identity Achievement and Identity Moratorium scores were significantly negatively correlated ($r(29) = -0.4907$, $p < 0.01$) such that as Achievement decreased, Moratorium increased. Identity Diffusion and Identity Achievement scores were significantly negatively correlated ($r(29) = -0.4070$, $p < 0.05$) such that as Achievement decreased, Diffusion increased. Identity Moratorium and Diffusion scores were significantly positively correlated ($r(29) = 0.5526$, $p < 0.01$) so that as Moratorium increased, Diffusion increased as well.

The following variables were significantly related for freshmen women in college. Identity Achievement and Identity Diffusion scores were significantly negatively correlated ($r(28) = -0.4355$, $p < 0.05$) such that as Achievement decreased, Diffusion increased, similar to results for college seniors. Again, much like college seniors, Identity Moratorium and Diffusion scores were significantly positively correlated ($r(28) = 0.3671$, $p < 0.05$) for college freshmen. Identity Foreclosure and Diffusion scores were significantly positively correlated ($r(28) = 0.4075$, $p < 0.05$) so that as Foreclosure increased, Diffusion increased.

Data for high school sophomores indicate a few significant results. A significant positive correlation between Identity Diffusion and Moratorium statuses existed ($r(27) = 0.5017$, $p < 0.01$) such that as Diffusion increased so did Moratorium. A significant positive correlation between identity Diffusion and Foreclosure was found ($r(27) = 0.4313$, $p < 0.05$). As Identity Diffusion increased, Foreclosure increased.

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Overall significant correlations presented in Table 3 are attributed to the above findings. A significant positive correlation existed between Identity Diffusion and Moratorium statuses for the total sample ($r(88) = 0.5438, p < 0.01$). In general, higher Diffusion predicted higher Moratorium. Also, a significant positive correlation between Identity Diffusion and Foreclosure statuses was indicated for the total sample, $r(88) = 0.4421, p < 0.01$. As Identity Diffusion increased, Foreclosure increased.

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Table 1

Frequencies of "pure" identity statuses by grade in school

	<u>Achievement</u>	<u>Moratorium</u>	<u>Foreclosure</u>	<u>Diffusion</u>	<u>Other</u> *
<u>College Seniors</u>	5	2	1	1	22
<u>College Freshmen</u>	4	0	3	1	22
<u>High School Sophomores</u>	1	1	4	3	20

* Subjects whose scores on EOM-EIS did not permit classification into pure identity statuses.

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Table 2

Means and standard deviations for identity, communication, and conflict scores

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Possible Range</u>	<u>Obtained Range</u>	<u>N of subjects*</u>
Achievement	66.51	9.60	16-96	44-87	90
Moratorium	50.66	10.76	16-96	27-74	90
Foreclosure	35.33	12.65	16-96	16-71	90
Diffusion	42.97	10.54	16-96	17-75	90
Communication with mother	69.15	16.22	20-100	26-99	82
Communication with father	65.00	19.21	20-100	24-98	78
Conflict	3.80	2.48	0-8	0-8	90

*Subjects with incomplete questionnaires were eliminated from analyses.

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Table 3

Overall Pearson correlations for total sample

	Ach	Mor	Fore	Diff	Mcomm	Fcomm	Conflict
Ach	----	- 0.1954	- 0.076	- 0.1789	- 0.0011	0.0519	0.2277*
Mor		----	0.1597	0.5438**	- 0.2629*	- 0.1021	0.0151
Fore			----	0.4421**	0.1213	0.2666*	- 0.1926
Diff				----	- 0.1431	- 0.0377	- 0.0205
Mcomm					----	0.2625*	- 0.4089**
Fcomm						----	- 0.4201**
Conflict							----

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed significance).

Ach=Achievement, Mor=Moratorium, Fore=Foreclosure, Diff=Diffusion,

Mcomm=communication with mother, Fcomm=communication with father.

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Table 4

Pearson correlations for high school sophomores

	Ach	Mor	Fore	Diff	Mcomm	Fcomm	Conflict
Ach	----	0.1052	- 0.0396	0.1391	- 0.2390	0.0111	0.0699
Mor		----	0.2704	0.5017**	- 0.1907	0.1266	- 0.0724
Fore			----	0.4313*	0.2748	0.5269**	- 0.2808
Diff				----	- 0.2383	0.2381	0.2617
Mcomm					----	0.1105	- 0.4778*
Fcomm						----	- 0.4319*
Conflict							----

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed significance).

Ach=Achievement, Mor=Moratorium, Fore=Foreclosure, Diff=Diffusion,

Mcomm=communication with mother, Fcomm=communication with father.

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Table 5

Pearson correlations for college seniors

	Ach	Mor	Fore	Diff	Mcomm	Fcomm	Conflict
Ach	----	- 0.4907**	0.1029	- 0.4070*	0.2128	0.1033	0.2663
Mor		----	0.0260	0.5526**	- 0.3007	- 0.2425	- 0.0357
Fore			----	0.1653	0.1746	0.1759	- 0.2166
Diff				----	- 0.0618	- 0.1592	- 0.1475
Mcomm					----	0.2375	- 0.3350
Fcomm						----	- 0.4399*
Conflict							----

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed significance).

Ach=Achievement, Mor=Moratorium, Fore=Foreclosure, Diff=Diffusion,

Mcomm=communication with mother, Fcomm=communication with father.

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Table 6
Pearson correlations for college freshmen

	Ach	Mor	Fore	Diff	Mcomm	Fcomm	Conflict
Ach	----	- 0.2691	- 0.1511	- 0.4355*	0.0898	0.0860	0.2929
Mor		----	- 0.1549	0.3671*	- 0.0719	0.0559	0.0194
Fore			----	0.4075*	0.1512	0.2360	- 0.2561
Diff				----	0.2641	0.1446	- 0.5189**
Mcomm					----	0.3166	- 0.3048
Fcomm						----	- 0.2680
Conflict							----

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed significance).

Ach=Achievement, Mor=Moratorium, Fore=Foreclosure, Diff=Diffusion,

Mcomm=communication with mother, Fcomm=communication with father.

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Table 7

Identity Moratorium means for each of the three age groups of subjects

	<u>Moratorium scores</u>
<u>College seniors</u>	47.452 ^{ac}
<u>College freshmen</u>	49.667 ^c
<u>High school sophomores</u>	55.103 ^b

Note-means with a common superscript do not differ from each other by the Duncan Multiple-Range Test, $p < 0.05$. Higher number indicates higher Moratorium scores.

$F(2, 87) = 4.2675, p < 0.05$.

Table 8

Identity Foreclosure means for each of the three age groups of subjects

	<u>Foreclosure scores</u>
<u>College seniors</u>	30.226 ac
<u>College freshmen</u>	35.567 cd
<u>High school sophomores</u>	40.552 bd

Note-means with a common superscript do not differ from each other by the Duncan Multiple-Range Test, $p < 0.05$. Higher number indicates higher Foreclosure scores.

$F(2, 87) = 4.2675, p < 0.05$.

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Table 9

Identity Diffusion means for each of the three age groups of subjects

	<u>Diffusion scores</u>
<u>College seniors</u>	36.936 a
<u>College freshmen</u>	42.033 b
<u>High school sophomores</u>	50.379 c

Note-means with a common superscript do not differ from each other by the Duncan Multiple-Range Test, $p < 0.05$. Higher number indicates higher Diffusion scores.
 $F(2, 87) = 4.2675, p < 0.05$.

Discussion

Overall, the two primary hypotheses were not supported in this study. High conflict coupled with high communication with parents was not related to crisis identity statuses. Contrary to previous research, high conflict, rather than low conflict was significantly related to Identity Achievement. The findings in the present study do not agree with previous research reporting on conflict and Identity Achievement (Nelson, et al., 1993) that found high conflict predicted low Identity Achievement. Perhaps for these subjects, conflict creates, or is a product of, (or both) the individuation needed for Identity Achievement.

The present study consisted of all female subjects while the Nelson, et. al. study consisted of 73% women subjects from two Midwestern liberal arts colleges of similar age to the current subject population. I did not obtain additional demographic information on subjects, so it is not possible to further compare the characteristics of women in both studies. However, it is possible that a difference exists. Participants in the Nelson, et. al. study reported a high identification with the Catholic religion (62%) along with a high percentage (79%) from intact families, followed by 18% from divorced or separated families, and 3% from families in which a parent had died or never married.

The main difference between the materials used in the two studies is that the present study used *only* the conflict subscale while the Nelson, et. al. study used the Family Environment Scale in its entirety. The decision not to administer the FES was due to the additional time that would have been required during subject recruitments. Perhaps the conflict statements were not answered in an unbiased fashion due to the lack of embedding the conflict items among all statements on the FES. In addition, the eliminated conflict statement is questionable as it may have somehow confounded the results of the present study. Conflict data indicate that 52% of the subjects in the present study reported high conflict and 48% reported low conflict. In contrast, the Nelson, et. al. study had three cut-off categories of high, low, and middle conflict. In that study a low percentage of subjects (6%) reported high conflict with 31% reporting low conflict, and 63%

middle conflict. If the present study had used such a three-tiered cut-off, percentages of subjects and conflict levels would have been 47% high, 22% middle, and 30% low conflict.

However, it is evident that the high school sophomores are reporting higher conflict in the family than both college samples combined. In addition, the intercorrelation matrices point to the college samples as those subjects who accounted for the positive relationship between conflict and Identity Achievement. In sum, all of these results suggest that differences really may exist between the college and high school samples in terms of demographics and in terms of coping with conflict. It is likely that the high school adolescents living at home undergo different experiences associated with conflict than college adolescents living away from home.

Conflict and communication were found to be negatively related. In hindsight, this is not surprising. Dysfunctional families are often considered to be the norm in contemporary society. Perhaps few can maintain open communication through times of conflict. But, there may be a positive side to this conflict. More conflict in the family might be expected to encourage the adolescent to withdraw from the family environment, and perhaps, if lucky, individuate from parents. Such an adolescent who finds it necessary to come to depend on herself might then work toward forming a successful identity by being forced to look inward. Conflict certainly deserves more attention than it has received thus far. As Nelson, et. al. (1993) suggest, conflict is an important variable in family structure and attention needs to be given to the construction of additional measures of conflict which would assess the positive impact of conflict on adolescents.

The significant main effects for the relationship between communication with mother and Identity Moratorium, and communication with father and Identity Foreclosure are interesting. The associations between low mother communication and high Moratorium, and high father communication and high Foreclosure point to expected parental influences upon adolescents' identity development. Bhushan and Shirali (1992) discussed the negative aspects of father-adolescent communication in their study of adolescent *males'* identities. The authors report, specific to the Indian sociocultural context, that there is an "extensive clinical literature that points out to the potential of fathers in contributing to poor psychosocial adjustment of male youth" (p.

695). Apparently, the authoritarian disposition of fathers fostered dependence and obedience of sons while fathers maintained an emotional distance from sons. The sons' later development was likely to be characterized by a lack of individuation and self-confidence (Bhushan & Shirali, 1992). The results for high school sophomores cannot be ignored which further attest to the significant positive correlation between communication with father and Foreclosure. The role of both parents might be an important consideration when studying identity development in adolescence in the future. Communication with parents may foster less individuation and encourage support for the adolescent's assimilation of parental ideas and values without self-exploration.

The relationship between identity status and grade level of subjects is interpretable. The third hypothesis stated that older adolescent females were expected to have greater Identity Achievement than younger adolescent females because the older adolescent might have had more experiences and thus more confrontation with issues of identity. Results indicate support for this hypothesis, but it is not possible to determine if there is movement into Achievement and Moratorium and if so, if it is due to college or just by way of getting older and undergoing maturation. The cross-sectional study does not allow for such generalizations. However, further support for predicted age differences is obtained from the four one-way ANOVAs conducted on each of the four identity statuses comparing the three age groups of subjects. As might be expected of older adolescents, and according to the usual grouping patterns, Achievement-Moratorium versus Foreclosure-Diffusion (Marcia, 1980), college seniors had significantly less Foreclosure than did high school sophomores. Furthermore, college seniors had significantly less Diffusion than both college freshmen and high school sophomores. In addition, the college freshmen had significantly less Diffusion than the high school sophomores. The surprise here was that high school sophomores had significantly greater Moratorium than both college seniors and college freshmen. A few interpretations are offered below.

The obtained intercorrelations among identity statuses were sometimes as expected, but sometimes surprising. The significant negative correlation between identity Moratorium and Achievement was surprising. It was expected that these two statuses would be positively

correlated according to the usual identity formation sequence. Apparently, Moratorium may not necessarily precede Achievement. Another surprising result was the significant positive correlation between Identity Moratorium and Diffusion, although this relationship may then account for the significant negative correlation just mentioned between Identity Achievement and Moratorium. Josselson's (1987) study is relevant to these results. A subgroup of the Diffusion status defined as Moratorium/Diffusion describes those women who were still in the process of identity formation, but were not sure about identity issues. Moratorium/Diffusion characterized those subjects in Josselson's study who moved back and forth between Diffusion and Moratorium statuses. College freshmen and high school sophomores have similar patterns regarding Identity Moratorium and Diffusion. The same significant positive correlation between Moratorium and Diffusion suggests that the Diffusion subgroup (Moratorium/Diffusion) described by Josselson (1987) may be common among the total population of subjects in this study.

The significant negative correlation between Identity Achievement and Diffusion for college seniors was in line with expectations that seniors would have greater Identity Achievement and thus less Diffusion. A second pattern that emerged for college freshmen as for college seniors was the significant negative correlation between Identity Achievement and Diffusion. Again, these results are in line with the expected usual identity formation patterns. The significant positive correlation found between Identity Foreclosure and Diffusion for college freshmen, high school sophomores, and the overall sample also corresponded to the usual identity formation patterns. This study with women subjects contradicts Marcia's (1980) discussion about pattern differences for men and women. For these subjects, identity status patterns (Achievement and Moratorium versus Foreclosure and Diffusion) are not different from those reported for men.

All in all, the above results generally support the third hypothesis that older females, i.e., college seniors would be assessed in Identity Achievement more often than both high school sophomores and college freshmen.

Conclusions

In spite of the results not supporting my two primary hypotheses, there are relationships

among parent-adolescent communication, family conflict, and identity status. Some rethinking about these relationships is necessary for future research. The expected interaction between communication and conflict still seems feasible to hypothesize. Pilot interviews conducted with adolescents prior to an empirical study might provide information specific to populations. This information may (or may not) lead a researcher to expect the communication and conflict interaction effects. Furthermore, the population samples available may also contribute special circumstances that were not figured into the methodology of the present study.

If practicable, interviewing techniques, in addition to the questionnaire, would provide more exhaustive information about the nature of relationships between adolescents and parents. In-depth interviews may offer information about conflict and communication that otherwise would have gone unreported in the present responses by questionnaire method. Moreover, any additional exploration of family conflict and subsequent information from interviews may help to guide researchers in developing a more thorough measure of conflict, beyond the conflict subscale utilized here. Finally, a longitudinal study that keeps up with changing contemporary issues of development by not only investigating the identity development of an adolescent from high school through college or subsequent post-high school employment, but also using a measure with questions which would reflect up-to-date issues of identity for appropriate age samples seems warranted to make distinct conclusions about the sequential movement among different identity statuses. Although I do feel that the identity status questionnaire (EOM-EIS) was appropriate in this study, there could be room for improvement.

In conclusion, the results obtained from this study have valid applications. The information gained from this study may allow both parents and educators to better understand young people and therefore facilitate meeting students' personal and educational needs. This would be particularly important given how fast society and generations of youth change. Finally, today's families are often not considered stable. The implications of identity issues combined with family characteristics upon adolescents can never be overstated.

Appendix A

Eight 2×2 ANOVAs

ANOVA summary table for identity Achievement: conflict \times communication with mother

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	463.748	463.748	5.289	< 0.024
Communication with mother	1	172.383	172.383	1.966	< 0.165
Conflict \times comm. with mother	1	93.483	93.483	1.066	< 0.305
Within groups	78	6838.690	87.676		
Total	81	7494.305	92.522		

ANOVA summary table for identity Moratorium: conflict \times communication with mother

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	6.472	6.472	0.056	< 0.813
Communication with mother	1	588.150	588.150	5.129	< 0.026
Conflict \times comm. with mother	1	0.013	0.013	0.000	< 0.991
Within groups	78	8944.457	114.673		
Total	81	9534.110	117.705		

ANOVA summary table for identity Foreclosure: conflict \times communication with mother

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	235.059	235.059	1.414	< 0.238
Communication with mother	1	0.019	0.019	0.000	< 0.992
Conflict \times comm. with mother	1	128.061	128.061	.0770	< 0.383
Within groups	78	12965.948	166.230		
Total	81	13335.512	164.636		

ANOVA summary table for identity Diffusion: conflict \times communication with mother

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	26.342	26.342	0.242	< 0.624
Communication with mother	1	162.859	162.859	1.498	< 0.225
Conflict \times comm. with mother	1	87.620	87.620	0.806	< 0.372
Within groups	78	8477.540	108.686		
Total	81	8738.244	107.880		

ANOVA summary table for identity Achievement: conflict \times communication with father

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	347.953	347.953	3.804	< 0.055
Communication with father	1	253.884	253.884	2.776	< 0.100
Conflict \times comm. with father	1	58.901	58.901	0.644	< 0.425
Within groups	74	6768.490	91.466		
Total	77	7326.833	95.154		

ANOVA summary table for identity Moratorium: conflict \times communication with father

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	17.832	17.832	0.161	< 0.689
Communication with father	1	75.364	75.364	0.682	< 0.412
Conflict \times comm. with father	1	18.119	18.119	0.164	< 0.687
Within groups	74	8177.167	110.502		
Total	77	8276.718	107.490		

ANOVA summary table for identity Foreclosure: conflict \times communication with father

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	147.652	147.652	1.033	< 0.313
Communication with father	1	758.358	758.358	5.304	< 0.024
Conflict \times comm. with father	1	80.721	80.721	0.565	< 0.455
Within groups	74	10581.054	142.987		
Total	77	11755.346	152.667		

ANOVA summary table for identity Diffusion: conflict \times communication with father

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Conflict	1	2.357	2.357	0.022	< 0.882
Communication with father	1	4.476	4.476	0.042	< 0.838
Conflict \times comm. with father	1	44.803	44.803	0.422	< 0.518
Within groups	74	7848.150	106.056		
Total	77	7898.679	102.580		

Appendix B

Four one-way ANOVAs

One-way ANOVA summary table for identity Achievement comparing college seniors, college freshman, and high school sophomores scores

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	2	124.047	62.024	0.668	< 0.516
Within groups	87	8082.442	92.902		
Total	89	8206.489			

One-way ANOVA summary table for identity Moratorium comparing college seniors, college freshman, and high school sophomores scores

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	2	921.289	460.644	4.268	< 0.017
Within groups	87	9391.034	107.943		
Total	89	10312.322			

One-way ANOVA summary table for identity Foreclosure comparing college seniors, college freshman, and high school sophomores scores

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	2	1600.0416	800.021	5.509	< 0.0056
Within groups	87	12633.959	145.218		
Total	89	14234.000			

One-way ANOVA summary table for identity Diffusion comparing college seniors, college freshman, and high school sophomores scores

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between groups	2	2747.2348	1373.6174	16.757	< 0.00001
Within groups	87	7131.665	81.973		
Total	89	9878.900			

Appendix C

Permission Form and Questionnaires

Permission Form

I will be taking part in a research project on female adolescents' relationships with parents and perceptions of themselves that involves completing three questionnaires about my relationships with my family and my own behavior.

I understand that my responses are anonymous (no names on questionnaires) and that the information from my participation in this study will be averaged in with all other participants' and will be treated confidentially.

Furthermore, I understand that I am free to choose not to participate in this study, and that I may stop participating at any time.

I give Marie C. Weil permission to include my responses to these three questionnaires in her study. I am aware of the conditions of my participation in this study.

Name

Date

_____ Check here if you would like to receive a copy of the results of this study.

Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement *as a whole*. Indicate your answer by choosing one of the following responses.

Enter your Age: _____. & Class: _____.

RESPONSE CHOICES

A	B	C	D	E	F
Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree	Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree

- ___ 1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at whatever is available until something better comes along. (Occupation/Diffusion)
- ___ 2. When it comes to religion, I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look. (Religion/Diffusion)
- ___ 3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me. (Sex Role/Foreclosure)
- ___ 4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another. (Phil. L.S./Diffusion)
- ___ 5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me. (Friendship/Moratorium)
- ___ 6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own. (Recreation/Diffusion)
- ___ 7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not. (Dating/Diffusion)
- ___ 8. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in. (Politics/Achievement)
- ___ 9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs will be right for me. (Occupation/Moratorium)
- ___ 10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other. (Religion/Diffusion)
- ___ 11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me. (Sex Roles/Moratorium)
- ___ 12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style" view, but I haven't really found it yet. (Phil. L.S./Moratorium)

RESPONSE CHOICES

A Strongly Agree	B Moderately Agree	C Agree	D Disagree	E Moderately Disagree	F Strongly Disagree
<hr/>					
13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on. (Friendship/Achievement)					
14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets to identify one I can really get involved in. (Recreation/Moderately Disagree)					
15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now. (Dating/Achievement)					
16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much. (Politics/Diffusion)					
17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there's never really any question since my parents said what they wanted. (Occupation/Foreclosure)					
18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe. (Religion/Achievement)					
19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me. (Sex Role/Diffusion)					
20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective. (Phil. L.S./Achievement)					
21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends. (Friendship/Foreclosure)					
22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices. (Recreation/Achievement)					
23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes. (Dating/Diffusion)					
24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such. (Politics/Foreclosure)					
25. I'm really not interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available. (Occupation/Diffusion)					
26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet. (Religion/Foreclosure)					
27. My ideas about men's and women's roles come right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further. (Sex Roles/Foreclosure)					
28. My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me. (Phil. L.S./Foreclosure)					
29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now. (Friendship/Diffusion)					
30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly. (Recreation/Diffusion)					

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RESPONSE CHOICES

A Strongly Agree	B Moderately Agree	C Agree	D Disagree	E Moderately Disagree	F Strongly Disagree
<hr/>					
___31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me. (Dating/Moratorium)					
___32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out. (Politics/Moratorium)					
___33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career. (Occ/Act)					
___34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me. (Religion/Moratorium)					
___35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me. (Sex Roles/Achievement)					
___36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self-exploration. (Phil. L.S./Moratorium)					
___37. I only pick friends my parents would approve of. (Friendship/Foreclosure)					
___38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else. (Recreation/Foreclosure)					
___39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date. (Dating/Foreclosure)					
___40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe. (Politics/Achievement)					
___41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans. (Occupation/Foreclosure)					
___42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual. (Religion/Achievement)					
___43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision. (Sex Roles/Moratorium)					
___44. My parent's views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else. (Phil. L.S. Fore.)					
___45. I've tried many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend. (Friendship/Achievement)					
___46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends. (Recreation/Achievement)					
___47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet. (Dating/Moratorium)					
___48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in. (Politics/Moratorium)					

RESPONSE CHOICES

- | A
Strongly
Agree | B
Moderately
Agree | C
Agree | D
Disagree | E
Moderately
Disagree | F
Strongly
Disagree |
|------------------------|--------------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
|------------------------|--------------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
-
- ___ 49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career. (Occupation/Achievement)
- ___ 50. I attend the same church my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why. (Religion/Foreclosure)
- ___ 51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me. (Sex Roles/Achievement)
- ___ 52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life. (Phil. L.S./Diffusion)
- ___ 53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd. (Friendship/Diffusion)
- ___ 54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hopes of finding one or more I can enjoy for some time to come. (Recreation/Moratorium)
- ___ 55. I've dated different types of people and now know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date. (Dating/Achievement)
- ___ 56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other. (Politics/Diffusion)
- ___ 57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities. (Occupation/Moratorium)
- ___ 58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me. (Religion/Foreclosure)
- ___ 59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it. (Sex Roles/Diffusion)
- ___ 60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own lifestyle will be. (Phil. L.S./Achievement)
- ___ 61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me. (Friendship/Moratorium)
- ___ 62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else. (Recreation/Foreclosure)
- ___ 63. I date only people my parents would approve of. (Dating/Foreclosure)
- ___ 64. My folks have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have. (Politics/Foreclosure)

Read each item and respond to each, by choosing one of the following responses, as it relates to your relationship with your mother.

RESPONSE CHOICES

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

- ☐ I can discuss my beliefs with my mother without feeling restrained or embarrassed.
- ☐ Sometimes I have trouble believing everything my mother tells me.
- ☐ My mother is always a good listener.
- ☐ I am sometimes afraid to ask my mother for what I want.
- ☐ My mother has a tendency to say things to me which would be better left unsaid.
- ☐ My mother can tell how I'm feeling without asking.
- ☐ I am very satisfied with how my mother and I talk together.
- ☐ If I were in trouble, I could tell my mother.
- ☐ I openly show affection to my mother.
- ☐ When we are having a problem, I often give my mother the silent treatment.
- ☐ I am careful about what I say to my mother.
- ☐ When talking to my mother, I have a tendency to say things that would be better left unsaid.
- ☐ When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my mother.
- ☐ My mother tries to understand my point of view.
- ☐ There are topics I avoid discussing with my mother.
- ☐ I find it easy to discuss problems with my mother.
- ☐ It is very easy for me to express all my true feelings to my mother.
- ☐ My mother nags/bothers me.
- ☐ My mother insults me when she is angry with me.
- ☐ I don't think I can tell my mother how I really feel about some things.

Read each item and respond to each, by choosing one of the following responses, as it relates to your relationship with your father.

RESPONSE CHOICES

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

- ☐ I can discuss my beliefs with my father without feeling restrained or embarrassed.
- ☐ Sometimes I have trouble believing everything my father tells me.
- ☐ My father is always a good listener.
- ☐ I am sometimes afraid to ask my father for what I want.
- ☐ My father has a tendency to say things to me which would be better left unsaid.
- ☐ My father can tell how I'm feeling without asking.
- ☐ I am very satisfied with how my father and I talk together.
- ☐ If I were in trouble, I could tell my father.
- ☐ I openly show affection to my father.
- ☐ When we are having a problem, I often give my father the silent treatment.
- ☐ I am careful about what I say to my father.
- ☐ When talking to my father, I have a tendency to say things that would be better left unsaid.
- ☐ When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my father.
- ☐ My father tries to understand my point of view.
- ☐ There are topics I avoid discussing with my father.
- ☐ I find it easy to discuss problems with my father.
- ☐ It is very easy for me to express all my true feelings to my father.
- ☐ My father nags/bothers me.
- ☐ My father insults me when he is angry with me.
- ☐ I don't think I can tell my father how I really feel about some things.

You are to decide which of these statements are true of your family and which are false. If you think the statement is *True* or mostly *True* of your family, make an X in the blank labeled T (true). If you think the statement is *False* or mostly *False* of your family, make an X in the blank labeled F (false).

You may feel that some of the statements are true for some family members and false for others. Mark T if the statement is *true* for most members. Mark F if the statement is *false* for most members. If the members are evenly divided, decide what is the stronger overall impression and answer accordingly.

Remember, we would like to know what your family seems like to *you*. So *do not* try to figure out how other members see your family, but *do* give us your general impression of your family for each statement.

 T F 1. We fight a lot in our family.

 T F 2. Family members rarely become openly angry.

 T F 3. Family members sometimes get so angry they throw things.

 T F 4. Family members hardly ever lose their tempers.

 T F 5. Family members often criticize each other.

 T F 6. If there's a disagreement in our family, we try hard to smooth things over and keep the peace.

 T F 7. Family members often try to one-up or out-do each other.

 T F 8. In our family, we believe you don't ever get anywhere by raising your voice.

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